

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNUC

SUBJECT: THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE POSTURE GOALS

REF: A. STATE 176389

B. STATE 167549

C. USNATO 3841

SUMMARY: WE APPRECIATE WASHINGTON'S OVERVIEW OF PROPOSED ACTIONS IN NATO RELATING TO THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE (REF A), AND THE BRIEFINGS BY AND DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. COTTER AND PARTY JULY 28-29. PARALLEL PURSUIT OF THEATER NUCLEAR GOALS--DOCTRINE ON THE ONE HAND, AND FORCE POSTURE ON THE OTHER--SEEMS SENSIBLE TO US. OUR DIRECTION ON DOCTRINE IS WELL SET IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PHASE III PROJECT (REFS B AND C). OUR COMMENTS IN THIS MESSAGE THEREFORE FOCUS ON INTERACTIONS WITH THE ALLIES ON MATTERS OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE POSTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. WE AGREE WITH PRIME OBJECTIVE, SET FORTH IN PARA 1 OF REF A, OF ENLARGING NPG MINISTERIAL DIALOGUE ON FORCE POSTURE CHANGES AND IMPROVED DEPLOYMENTS. WE HAVE ALREADY LAID IMPORTANT SECRET

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GROUNDWORK WITH ALLIES IN CONTEXT OF CONSULTATIONS ON THE NUNN AMENDMENT NUCLEAR REPORT OF LAST APRIL. IN THAT PROCESS, AND AT THE NPG MEETING IN MONTEREY, WE HAVE CALLED TO THE ALLIES' ATTENTION THE GENERAL NEED TO "MODERNIZE" THE THEATER NUCLEAR

POSTURE AND ALLUDED TO SOME OF THE GENERAL KINDS OF CHANGES WE HAVE IN MIND. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOT YET COME FORWARD WITH A LOGICALLY INTERRELATED ARRAY OF PROPOSED FORCE POSTURE CHANGES AND REPEAT AND AN ACCOMPANYING RATIOALE WITH WHICH OUR ALLIES, OR THE NATO MILITAR AUTHORITIES, CAN COME TO GRIPS.

2. IN ORDER TO POINT THE ALLIES TOWARD CONSTRUCTUVE FOCUS ON SPECIFICS, WE THINK IT IMPORTANT TO SET THE STAGE WITH A CAREFUL, ELEMENTARY, AND COHESIVE EXPLANATION OF OVERALL THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE STRUCUTE CHARACTERISTICS THAT WE WISH TO ACHEIVE IN NATO. OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO CONVEY TO THE ALLIES A COHERENT DESIGN THAT EXPLAINS WHAT WE MEAN WHEN WE TALK ABOUT A MORE SURVIVABLE, SEVURE, AND RESPONSIVE FORCE WHICH CAN OPERATE EFFECTIVELY TO ENHANCE THE DEFNSE BY CONVENTIONAL FORCES (PARA 5,REF A). BY DOING SO,WE CAN FACILITATE THE ABILITY OF THE ALLIES AND NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO PUT SPECIFIC FORCE STRUCUTE, DEPLOYMENT, AND MODERNIZATION PROPOSALS INTO PERSPECTIVE; WE HOPEFULLY CAN LESSEN ALLIED PREOCCUPATION WITH WARHEAD DELLOYMENT LEVELS, WHICH IN OUR VIEW SHOULD NOT BE THE DRIVING FACTOR IN THIS AREA; WE CAN MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE ALLIES TO LINK SPECIFIC PROPOSED CHANGES TO THE ENHANCEMENT OF DETERRENCE, WHICH IS THEIR FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN: AND WE CAN DISARM ANY POSSIBLE ALLIED FEARS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS OUT TO DENUCLEARIZE EUROPE OR DECOUPLE THE THEATER NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. IN SHORT, WE BELIVE IT IMPORTANT NOT TO HIT THE ALLIES WITH PIECEMEAL PROPOSALS FOR SPECIFIC CHANGES WITHOUT FIRST HAVING CONVEYED A COHERENT EXPLANATION OF WHAT WE ENVISAGE AS THE RESULTANT OVERALL THEATER NUCLEAR POSTURE. THIS EXPLANATION, AT LEASE INITIALLY, COLD BE CAST IN TERMS IN WHICH WARHEAD DEPLOYMENT LEVELS NEED NOT BE SPECIFIED (DEPLOYMENTS WOULD BE WORKED OUT OVER TIME BASED ON DETAILED STUDIES ON REQUIREMENTS, MBFR NEGOTITATIONS, ETC).

3. LOOKING TOWARD PROME OBJECTIVE OF ENLARGING NPG MINISTERIAL DIALOGUE REGARDING SPECIFIC FORCE POSTURE CHANGES, WE SEE MERIT IN PROPOSED DISUCSSIONS WIHTH KEY MOD'S (I.E. FRG AND UK) AND COMMANDS THIS FALL AS SUGGESTED IN REF A. WE
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ALSO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO BRIEF NPG PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES, PERHAPS DURING LATTER PART OF MR. COTTER'S PROPOSED VISIT TO EUROPE IN SEPTEMBER, ON COMPREHENSIVE DESIGN FOR THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES AS OUTLINED IN PARA 2 ABOVE. SUCH A BRIEFING, COUPLED WIHT APPROPRIATE BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO SETTING STAGE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOUGUE BY MINISTERS AT FALL NPG, AND FOR ADDRESSAL FOSPECIFIC FORCE POSTURE CHANGES BY THE ALLIES AND NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

4. I SUM, WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES ARE LIKELY TO BE RESPONSIVE TO A WELL-REASONED PRESETATION ON THE NEED FOR CHANGES IN THE NUCLEAR POSTURE IN EUROPE, BOTH TO RETAIN ITS CREDIBILITY

AND TO RESPOND TO THE REAL PROBLEMS THAT THE US EXECUTIVE
BRANCH, CONGRESS AND OTHERS HAVE IDENTIFIED. AS NOTED ABOVE,
THE US HAS NOT YET PRESENTED ANY PROPOSALS FOR SPECIFIC CHANGES TO
THE ALLIES. CONSEQUENTLY, IT WOULD BE UNFAIR TO BLAME THEM
FOR LACK OF FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THIS AREA. ALTHOUGH OUR AP-
PROACH AND PROPOSALS MUST BE CONDITIONED BY OUR ALLIES'
POLITICAL SENSITIVITIES AND BY RELATED CONCERNS SUCH AS MBFR,
WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS BY PRESENTING A COHERENT OVERVIEW OF OUR
OBJECTIVES, AND THEREAFTER INVOLVING THE ALLIES IN CONSIDERA-
TION OF SOUNDLY BASED SPECIFIC PROPOSALS.
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